/85 cont./

844 [828] The most common of the crisis situations is the one that stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 [184] /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me [828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avyký-á.

844 [593] [606] [602] The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of [824] a splinter of takuarí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are [752] [184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [726] [798] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [789] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- [775] When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 412 241 and the axe—the first in particular—to Cayuá agriculture can scarcely be overestimated. It is possible to clear larger pieces of forest at present than formerly, expending both less effort and less time to do so. It is no longer necessary to depend so heavily upon burning and reburning, nor to gather and pile up brush about the trunks of large trees to remove them by fire. With the use of the hoe and machete it is possible to keep crops freer of weeds; a clean *kokwé* is now largely a matter of the industriousness of its owner. Formerly it was much more difficult or technologically impossible to weed frequently.

*177 412 Machetes are the most important metal implement of all, for agriculture and for many other applications. Practically every adult male owns at least one machete, though it is usually a poor one, much diminished by resharpening or breaking of the point. Old machetes are relegated to household use when they become too small for field work (and this must be very small because some men are obliged to continue to use knives worn or broken down to no more than a foot in length). In the household they are used to pull roasted tubers from the fire, in the preparation of food, and the like. The old machetes are also used by the women for short digging implements in getting food from the *kokwé*.

Not everyone owns a hoe or an axe, but axes seem to be the second most [426] [313] essential (and the most expensive) metal implement. Borrowing is usually possible, or the machete is simply made to do instead. Axes are primarily used in fetching and splitting firewood—although a machete will serve up to a point—and in felling the larger trees in the forest for clearing a *kokwé*. Felling the largest trees is very heavy and difficult work and usually impossible with [241] a machete. The hoe is entirely restricted to agriculture, whereas axes and [342] machetes both may be used in housebuilding and honey gathering, and mache- [222] tes are also employed in certain kinds of hunting—usually with dogs—and [241] other activities. The hoe is used in weeding and in opening holes for planting [224] certain crops. Women have more to do with hoes than with either of the other white-introduced tools, which are generally considered implements of male use.

In agriculture, practically the only aboriginal implement remaining today [563] is the digging and planting stick, or *sarakwé*. Corn, especially, is always planted *178 412 with the *sarakwé*, and the implement actually has much to recommend it in the log and stump-strewn *kokwé*. The *sarakwé* is primarily, if not exclusively, an implement of female use. Bamboo knives, aboriginal implements, though [241] possibly not used in agriculture, have fallen into general discard except in [844] their ritual use in severing the natal cord of the newborn infant—an example of conservatism of technology associated with ritual practices.

*177 342 412 Before leaving the subject of metal tools introduced by way of acculturation, mention should be made of the use of the machete in modern house-building. Most obvious is the present wide-spread use of a type of "board" made from large trunks of *taquara* bamboo, split open and flattened in a man-

/35 cont./

843 and the husband. The woman must abstain from the use of beef, pork, and armadillo meat, just as she can not go into the husband's clearing, and in the last stages of the pregnancy the work that she is allowed to do is limited, even in the house. During the entire period she can not break up pieces of wood. The father, during this time, can not cut anything with a large knife or machete, he can not build anything either, such as, for instance, a fence, which would mean the use of cipo or of other material used for tying. If one fails to observe any of these restrictions, the child will be sickly all his life or might even die at birth.

844 No man is present at the birth of a child, although the father stays quite close, accompanied in general by at least one other man, who will be his close relative. The woman is assisted by one or several women. One of them is one of the few old women of the community who are well known for their knowledge in these things. There might also be present sisters or the mother of the woman in labor, if she has them. The umbilical cord is cut at a length of about six centimeters and then buried. It must be cut with /36/ a sliver of bamboo, because in case scissors or knife were used, the child would lose much blood. The midwife puts [465] a remedy on the wound, in order for it to heal quickly. The midwife is paid for her services, receiving a relatively modest sum when she is a close relative or friend of the couple, and a somewhat larger one when she is not a relative or a close friend.

845 The birth of twins seems to be a very rare occurrence, which is not considered a good thing. Twins had been born a little before the author's arrival in Taquapirí, and it was said that the mother had killed one of them. The beliefs concerning twins are not very clear.

553 Giving the name: It seems that there is no definite time for giving the child a name, which, nevertheless, is usually given during the first year of life -- between eight and twelve months of age. On the night chosen for the ceremony the parents take the child to the house of the person in whose presence the name is to be given to the child, when the cock crows the first time, generally around midnight. The parents enter the house, seating